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The Shape of Things

THE SETTLEMENT BY THE AXIS OF THE Transylvanian problem is a cynical piece of opportunism which can endure only as long as its promoters possess the armed strength to maintain it. No attempt was made to seek a solution on an ethnic basis, for in the section given to Hungary a clear majority of the population is Rumanian. Economic considerations were likewise ignored, and the decisive factor appears to have been strategic. The portion allotted to Hungary gives it the entire line of the Carpathian Mountains, where its army will stand as advance guard of the Axis against any encroachments from the east. Attempts are being made in Rome and Berlin to represent the settlement as a freely accepted arbitral award, but in fact it was reluctantly agreed to by the Rumanian government under pressure amounting to an ultimatum. Widespread demonstrations have indicated popular resentment, particularly in Transylvania itself, where the peasants who obtained farms through the Rumanian agrarian reforms fear they will be ousted once again by the big landlords who dominate the Budapest government. The threat of a Nazi occupation will probably prevent any organized uprising, but on the other hand a discontented peasantry may fail to produce food in the quantities expected by Berlin. Meanwhile it is reported that German and Italian mechanized forces will shortly take over the defense of Rumania's eastern frontier in fulfilment of an absolute military guaranty which, the Rumanian Foreign Minister said in a broadcast, is "unlike that ever given any other country in the world except little Slovakia." This statement summarizes succinctly the degree of independence left to Rumania.

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THE VICHY GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO BE losing control of the French colonies. The Lake Chad region, French Equatorial Africa, and the Cameroons have gone over to General de Gaulle's committee, as has New Caledonia, the nickel-producing island in the Pacific. In Gabon and French Indo-China the situation is more obscure, but even reports from Vichy indicate the presence of strong dissident elements. They seem to be encouraged by two factors—the stout resistance put up by Britain and the desperate economic plight of the colonies, which are practically cut off from trade with the outside world. It is reported that in the French West Indies business is at a standstill and that a large majority of the inhabitants are agitating for a repudiation of Vichy and a reentry into the fight at Britain's side.

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"THE ROAD OF SACRIFICE" DOWN WHICH Wendell Willkie, in his acceptance speech, pledged himself to lead the American people is reserved for commoners only, and not for big business. The hysterical cry of "sovietization" raised by the Republican candidate against the Overton-Russell amendment to the conscription bill provides a measure of Willkie's liberalism. The amendment would give the President power to commandeer plants necessary for the national defense when this step is necessary to insure the cooperation of a recalcitrant industry. The measure of conscription thus provided for business is of a far milder variety than that provided for men, and we see no better reason for permitting great corporations to make the last full measure of profit out of defense under threat of strikes by capital than for allowing men to decide on what terms they will agree to fight. "Can it be true," Willkie asks, "that the people of this country are not cooperating with the government in its defense efforts? If this is the fact, we should hear about it." Where has Willkie been hiding the past few weeks? The people *are* cooperating, but a section of big business, particularly the aviation and steel companies, has been engaged in a sitdown strike against the defense program. Had this been a strike of workers, news of it might have penetrated even to Rushville, Indiana.

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THE SITDOWN STRIKE OF THE AVIATION companies, discussed in I. F. Stone's three articles, the last of which we publish this week, is still under way. The House has passed a bill repealing profit limits on plane contracts, allowing plane manufacturers to write off their new plants and equipment by deducting the cost

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from their tax bill over a five-year period, and imposing a mild excess-profits tax. But for all the ballyhoo and the reassuring statement now issued by the President himself in defense of his Defense Commission, the plane companies will not really go to work until the Senate has passed the bill, too. Unlike the men who will ultimately fly their planes, they take no chances. The facts brought out by Mr. Stone in his article this week merit the attention of every member of Congress and should be considered by the Military Affairs committees. We are inclined to agree with Mr. Stone that we shall be unable quickly and efficiently to build up a great air force without new government factories on mass-production lines to supplement the efforts of our small-scale and greedy aviation industry.

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THE SUPPLEMENT ON WENDELL WILLKIE put out this week by the *New Republic* is a campaign publication of unusual value. Well-documented and readable, it will provide material for a hundred election speeches. Naturally it cannot tell the whole story; Willkie's record as revealed in his own speeches and writings, for example, is touched upon but not fully exposed. But it gives in detail and convincingly the story of the candidate as utilities counsel and super-fixer, and presents a most damaging picture of the labor record of the Commonwealth and Southern affiliates. The Democratic national chairman, Edward J. Flynn, has already discovered uses for what will prove to be a very valuable little handbook.

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THE WORST ENEMIES OF LABOR WILL FIND ammunition in the current attempt of James C. Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, to take over the soloists and conductors of the American Guild of Musical Artists. Only a last-minute restraining order obtained from Justice Pecora in New York City by Lawrence Tibbett and his fellow-artists of the guild prevented Petrillo from carrying out his threat to bar America's most famous instrumental and vocal soloists from opera, concert stage, screen, and radio. The only alternative offered them was to resign from the guild and join the Federation of Musicians by Labor Day. In the forty-five years of its existence the musicians' union has never before taken an interest in the soloists or tried to organize them. Under Joe Weber, who retired in June to make way for Petrillo, the musicians' union had been on friendly terms with the guild and had made no objection to its entrance into the A. F. of L. In an ultimatum to Tibbett, the head of the Guild, Petrillo admits that there is no competition between the members of the two unions, says frankly that he does not think the soloists need a union, but insists that if they wish to join one they will have to join his. Or else. To call the musicians' union "his" is no figurative expression. Justice Pecora expressed amazement at the union's constitution and by-laws, which permit Petrillo to change the constitution as he pleases and to impose individual fines up to $5,000 without trial. Petrillo draws a total of $46,000 a year in salaries from the union.

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ACCORDING TO A STUDY MADE BY THE SEC and a group of WPA workers in Massachusetts, industrial insurance is the most wasteful form of insurance for the policy-holder and the most profitable to the insurance companies. Massachusetts was chosen for the survey because its regulations are stringent and because savings-bank life insurance, an inexpensive substitute for industrial insurance, is sold in that state. A WPA grant made it possible to interview 2,132 low-income families in and around Boston. Most striking of the discoveries was that savings-bank life insurance, for which Louis Brandeis pioneered before the war, has done very little for the people who need it most. The investigators found that of these 2,132 low-income families 1,666 carried regular life insurance, aggregating more than $4,000,000 while only 129 had savings-bank policies, aggregating a little less than $85,000. Eighty-eight out of every 100 insured families carried some industrial insurance, and 42 out of every 100 carried only industrial insurance. With an income averaging $300 per person a year, these poor families were spending an average of 5 per cent, and some as much as 24 per cent, of their income on insurance. Industrial insurance, paid on the weekly-instalment plan, is the most expensive kind. From 1927 to 1937 only 7.56 per cent of this insurance had matured or had been paid at death. Lapses were 53.96 per cent, and it is on the lapses that the companies make their big profits. Since policies lapse when poor families are sold more insurance than they can carry, high-pressure salesmanship is encouraged.

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PREMIER KONOYE'S STATEMENT RULING OUT a one-party system as the basis for Japan's new national structure may indicate an increasing lack of congeniality between Tokyo and the Axis powers. But its significance probably lies chiefly in the area of domestic politics. As Konoye points out, Japan differs from the fascist states in its adherence to the theory that all power stems from the Emperor. Outright rejection of the democratic forms of the present constitution would, in effect, be disrespectful to the Throne, since the constitution was handed down as an imperial grant. The fact that this technicality has arisen to plague the new government suggests the existence of an opposition stronger than recent news reports have indicated. This would seem to be borne out by the uncertainty and hesitation which have characterized Japanese foreign policy since the advent of the

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Konoye government. Although the extremists are in power, the essential strength of the commercial and financial groups which have long opposed the adventurism of the army appears to remain. Should the new government make a serious misstep, such as seeming to affront the dignity of the Emperor, the moderates might yet regain power. A decisive military setback, either in China or elsewhere in Eastern Asia, might have the same results.

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MEXICO'S AGREEMENT WITH THE VICHY government of France constitutes the first real break for refugees since the beginning of the fascist onslaught on civilian populations. Under the agreement Mexico will not only open its gates to the 250,000 Spanish refugees remaining in France, without regard to creed or political belief, but will pay for their upkeep in France until transported and also the cost of transportation. Some of the funds, presumably, will come from the portion of the Spanish republic's gold reserve which was shipped to Mexico at the conclusion of the Spanish civil war. Mexico stands to gain financially and in other ways from the admission of 250,000 people who speak the same language and will undoubtedly bring much-needed skills to their new world. But Mexico's act is nevertheless a bold and generous one. It shows a happy contrast with the grudging policy toward refugees so far pursued by the richest country in the world. The admission of Spain's anti-fascist exiles should also make it clear that the sympathies of the Mexican government are on the democratic side. It is to be hoped that the current tension engendered by the refusal of Almazán and his followers to accept defeat will not be successfully used by anti-Mexican elements in the United States and fifth-column elements in Mexico to foster trouble below the border.

Britain and Bucharest

ANOTHER week of air raids has taken its toll of British lives and caused an unknown amount of physical damage but has left undented both the morale of the besieged island and its capacity to hit back. To the surprise and annoyance of the Nazis the Royal Air Force has been pounding Berlin and apparently with some success, for German spokesmen, who have so often boasted of their own secret devices, are now explaining that the British have found a way to render their planes invisible. This story seems hardly calculated to reassure Berliners, who according to the Hitlerian time-table should by now be celebrating the downfall of London but instead find themselves continually diving into air-raid shelters.

The schedule of the Hitlerian express has at last been upset by an obstacle on the line for which an insufficient time allowance had been made—the pig-headed refusal of the British to acknowledge that they were licked. The collapse of France ought to have reduced them to a proper state of humility. But it didn't, and today, after weeks of aerial *Blitzkrieg*, they still persist in their stupid defiance. Presumably they will refuse to be convinced until the German army actually lands in Britain and occupies London. But that plan, as long as the British navy stays afloat and the air force remains aloft, involves bigger risks than Hitler seems ready to take.

Thus as summer fades, the days shorten, and the season of fogs and gales draws near, the prospects of a winter-long stalemate in the Battle for Britain increase. But in this game stalemate is not equally distressing to both sides. For Britain it means a chance to raise its defense walls higher, to swell its numbers of trained men, to complete its mobilization of resources, and to augment them by drawing on this and other overseas countries. For Germany, on the other hand, it means a halt to a series of brilliant successes, the postponement of that final victory without which the conquest of Europe becomes naught, and the possibility of weakened morale in the course of a long winter of short rations and deferred hopes.

Under these circumstances students of Hitlerian technique would be little surprised if a diversion were attempted, and recent developments suggest that the Occidental Express may be turned round to become the Oriental Express. In the Near East events have been dramatic in the past week. Italy has made little headway toward fulfilling its boast of driving the British out of Egypt, but it has been intensifying its aerial attacks. However, its fleet is unwiling or unable to dispute the mastery of the eastern Mediterranean with Britain, and this may explain why the pressure it is exerting on Greece has not yet been brought to a head. Meanwhile, Hungary and Rumania proved totally unable to reach a compromise on Transylvania and broke up their conference with mutual accusations of frontier violations. As a result representatives of the two states were summoned to Vienna by the Axis and handed a dictated solution. According to the meager details available at the time of writing, the Vienna award gives Hungary most of what it was demanding and leaves Rumania denuded of practically all its gains from the last war. Since both countries had vied in their subservience to the dictators, some further explanation seems necessary. Perhaps it is that the Axis powers regard Hungary as a more efficient barrier than Rumania to any westward move by Russia. However, King Carol is to have a consolation prize if he accepts the shrinkage of his kingdom quietly, for what remains is to be guaranteed by Germany against all aggressors.

It appears that fear of a renewed Russian invasion played a considerable part in Rumania's submission to

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the Vienna ultimatum. This fear had been enhanced by reports of the massing of Soviet troops in Bessarabia and the recrudescence of violent frontier incidents along the new Russo-Rumanian border. Thus once again Germany has been able to exploit successfully the Russian peril.

Were Moscow's actions intended to have this effect, and, if so, what will be the quid pro quo? Or was the renewed display of Russian strength along the River Pruth designed as a reminder of Russia's permanent interest in the Balkans? Whatever the explanation, the result would seem to be an increase of German prestige and influence in that region which is unlikely, in the long run, to prove beneficial to Russian interests. Moreover, the high-handed settlement of the Transylvanian question may turn out to be merely a prelude to a southward thrust by Germany which would immediately confront Stalin's government with a problem insoluble by immoral bargainings. For if, as there is some reason to believe, Hitler's next move will be an attempt to outflank the British in the eastern Mediterranean, then that old bone of contention between German and Slav—the control of the Dardanelles—will be immediately exhumed. That very fact may make Hitler hesitate unless he feels that the need of a diversion from the Battle of Britain has become desperately urgent. In that case this eventful week in the Balkans will prove but a curtain-raiser to a melodrama on a much vaster stage.

The Draft Bill

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS foolish to call the Selective Training and Service Act a measure for "peace-time conscription." The United States is not waging military war, but it is only nominally at peace. Openly and officially we have identified ourselves with the nations fighting against Hitler. We are rapidly perfecting joint defense plans with Canada and agreements for the establishment of air and naval bases on Canadian and British territory in this hemisphere. Mussolini's term "non-belligerent ally" describes as accurately as any other the actual if unofficial relationship of the United States to Britain.

And so the conscription bill is in reality less exceptional and startling than its opponents insist. It is a war measure, enacted on the assumption that active participation in the struggle cannot ultimately be avoided. The virtue of the present measure is that it offers some chance that our soldiers may be sufficient in numbers and trained in the complicated techniques of modern warfare when the day of battle dawns.

The act as passed by the Senate was improved in many respects during debate. It is still far from perfect, but with all its weaknesses, it is preferable that the measure be put through rather than delayed for more weeks of debate. The chief objection to the act is a very general one which has been expressed in these pages ever since conscription was first proposed. It is too narrow. With more thought and daring a plan of collective service could have been devised which would have taken in all able-bodied young people and created not only soldiers but mechanics and nurses and home guards and conservationists and ambulance drivers and many other sorts of technicians as well. The technical courses recently started in the schools and the work of the CCC supply a part of the training I have in mind. But the inevitable tendency at present is to draw into such services the unemployed and the "underprivileged," instead of extending them to a whole age-group without regard to economic status. Perhaps a coordinated system can ultimately be built out of the fragmentary plans now being developed, but such a scheme will never emerge from the military mind. The Burke-Wadsworth bill is strictly a defense measure and must be judged in its own terms.

The House is considering, as I write, an amendment, proposed by the Military Affairs Committee, to raise the upper age limit for registrants to forty-five. This is an improvement over the twenty-one-to-thirty-one limit set by the Senate. While men for active service should be taken from the young group, it is desirable that all useful citizens be registered and their capacities tabulated. Registration should be looked upon as a census of the human resources of the nation. The broader the age limits, the wider the choice.

I don't like the provision restricting service in the land forces to the Western Hemisphere and the possessions and territories of the United States. Suppose in the course of a struggle against Germany it became necessary to occupy Iceland. Such a restriction would be promptly repealed on demand of the military authorities. It was included in the act, without doubt, to reassure the majority who oppose sending our boys to fight in "foreign wars." But Hitler's war is not a foreign war even today; it is a war against our security and our institutions, and if we enter it as an active belligerent we shall fight it where and as we must.

More serious defects appear in the provision designed to protect the jobs of men called into the armed forces. The bill says that persons who have satisfactorily completed their period of training and service, who are able to carry on their former duties, and who apply for reemployment within forty days of their discharge shall be restored to their positions or to others "of like seniority, status, and pay." But this provision is heavily qualified. If a man has been disabled in service or has lost his skill through lack of practice, the bill gives him no protection. If an employer's "circumstances have so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable" for him to take back his former employee, the latter has no

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recourse. To meet the situation, the bill provides for a personnel division to help ex-service men get back their jobs or, failing that, find new ones elswhere. This is a step in the right direction. It should be reinforced by special legislation to extend unemployment insurance to all cases of unemployment resulting from service in the army and to give preference to ex-service men on public-works projects and in the WPA.

The bill provides for legal action against an employer who refuses to take back a worker after his training period is completed. But this, too, is qualified. The United States District Court is empowered to "require such employer to comply" with the provisions of the law and also to compensate the aggrieved employee for loss of wages or other benefits suffered during his period of unemployment. But nothing is said about penalties in case the employer refuses to obey the court's order.

The section of the act defining the rights of conscientious objectors has been improved, but it is still unsatisfactory. It provides for exemption from combatant service of any person who "by reason of religious training or belief" is conscientiously opposed to war. Such a person, if judged to be sincere in his objections after a hearing by the Department of Justice, may be assigned to non-combatant service or, if he rejects such service, to "work of national importance under civilian direction." He has a right of appeal to a civilian board authorized to determine finally all questions of exemption from service. This procedure offers fair protection to the religious objector. But no provision whatever is made for the objector on moral or political grounds, though his reasons for refusing may be quite as compelling.

Religious sensibilities are protected by another section of the act which seems discriminatory as well as foolish. Ministers of religion and theological students are unqualifiedly exempted from service. Why? Is the practice of theology of greater national importance than the manufacture of arms or the raising of wheat? Men engaged in such enterprises may be excused from service only if their work is considered "necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest"; and even then their period of service is merely "deferred." It seems to me that able-bodied young theologians should undergo military training along with their lay brothers.

The bill has other defects. Some of them may be ironed out during this week's debate; some will have to be corrected later by amendments or new legislation. They should not, in any case, be viewed as major objections to a system of selective service. The building of a democratic army depends in the end, not on detailed safeguards, but on the will of a democratic people.

On Labor Day John L. Lewis demanded that labor be given full participation in the defense program, including "adequate representation upon the policy-making agencies of government." But at the same time he denounced war "hysteria" and attacked the conscription bill as an instrument of reaction. Mr. Lewis cannot have it both ways. If labor in this country, as in the fated democracies of Europe, refuses to recognize the dangers that face us and continues to oppose defense efforts, it cannot at the same time expect "full participation." Only by accepting the need for a defense program can labor throw its weight on the side of democratic methods in carrying out that program. At Newfound Gap on Labor Day the President said what Lewis lacked the imagination to say:

> The greatest attack that has ever been launched against freedom of the individual is nearer the Americas than ever before. To meet that attack we must prepare beforehand, for preparing later may and probably would be too late.
>
> We must prepare in a thousand ways. Men are not enough. They must have arms. They must learn how to use those arms. They must have skilled leaders, who must be trained. New bases must be established to enable our fleet to defend our shores. Men and women must be taught to create the supplies that we need. And we must counter the agents of the dictators within the country.

If these words had been spoken by one of our labor leaders, the hope of a strong and democratic defense program would be greater than it is today.

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Will the Farmer Vote for Willkie?

BY CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ

San Antonio, Texas, August 30

THE Roosevelt Administration is the first since the time of Lincoln which has done anything substantial for the American farmer. Yet at this moment the farmers in twelve Middle Western farm states, with 161 electoral votes, are more inclined to vote for Willkie than for Roosevelt. This may appear at first view to be base political ingratitude and a reflection of the farmer's political immaturity. It is both of these, but it is also a reflection of something a good deal deeper and more significant—the abiding conservatism of the American farmer. This year the farmer is voting, not for tomorrow, not even for today, but for yesterday.

What the Democrats are up against in the farm belt this year is the hard and paradoxical fact that it is the farmer's considerable success in achieving his goals under a Democratic Administration that now causes him to abandon the Democratic Party and return to the Republicanism in which he was nursed. The Middle Western farmer—especially the leading farmer who sets the tone for the community, the farmer with the richest acres, the biggest barns, the finest cows—is willing to support a liberal Administration in Washington only when he is badly scared. On all other occasions he is conservative almost to the point of being reactionary.

In 1932 the farmer was thoroughly scared. Banks were everywhere closing their doors, mortgages were being foreclosed by the thousands, and wheat was bringing only about two bits a bushel, the lowest price in three hundred years. So the farmer voted for Roosevelt. But since then the farmer has seen his circumstances change remarkably for the better. This is not to say that he is satisfied; far from it. The prices he receives for his crops are still far below parity; the prices he pays for his tools and supplies are far above. After a spurt at the outbreak of the war, farm exports, except cotton, have declined 20 per cent. Wheat has fallen forty cents a bushel since Hitler invaded Norway. Nevertheless, farm income as a whole has risen from about four billions in 1932 to about eight billions, and the rate of farm bankruptcies in 1939 was the lowest in eighteen years. Freed from the fear of losing his homestead, the farmer is thinking of many other problems besides those that are strictly his own. Like all Americans, he is thinking of national defense and foreign policy. Here he tends to be an isolationist, often an extreme one. He is thinking also of the national debt—and especially of labor policies and unemployment relief. Here he is a conservative.

Farmers are generally opposed to unemployment relief. It has made seasonal labor in the cotton, vegetable, and sugar-beet fields much less willing than before to work for starvation wages. Down in my part of the country, for example, in Texas, farmers want Mexicans to work ten or twelve hours a day for a dollar. The WPA pays about twice that. So, according to the farmers, the WPA has ruined the Mexicans. The farmers say, "Since we had the WPA the damned Mexicans ain't worth killin'." The average Mexican, however, finds it a bit hard to understand why it is more noble to work for a farmer for one dollar than for the government for two.

If you will add to the foregoing a pretty general distrust among Middle Western farmers of the reciprocal-trade-agreements program, and of any plan for helping South America handle its agricultural surpluses, you will have just about all the principal reasons why the farm belt this year is preparing to vote Republican. It is probable that nearly all the purely rural sections will vote for Willkie by a majority ranging from 5 to 10 per cent. But fortunately for the Democrats there is almost no such thing as a wholly agricultural state. Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and perhaps Iowa come close to deserving the description, but there are miners or industrial workers in all of them. In all the other states of the farm belt the farm vote is a contributing but not necessarily a controlling factor.

The Republicans are obliged to sweep the Middle West; the Democrats can win by taking two or three of the Middle Western states, even if they lose New York. The best bets for the Democrats are Missouri, Illinois, Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. In Illinois, for example, the rural downstate areas will certainly go Republican; urban Chicago will certainly go Democratic. Thus the Democrats must hold the Republican majority downstate low enough to be overcome by the Democratic majority in Chicago. With the help of the Kelly-Nash machine in Chicago and of Henry Wallace among the farmers downstate, the Democrats think they can do it. If they can, the election is practically in the bag for Roosevelt. The strategy ought to work even more effectively in Missouri, Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. It might also work in Ohio and Indiana. But elsewhere in the Middle West the Democrats are lost. There is no hope for them in Iowa, the Dakotas, Kansas, or Nebraska.

Obviously the strategy of the Republicans is to roll up so large a majority in the rural areas that it will outweigh anything the Democrats can do in the cities. That is why

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the Republicans nominated McNary for Vice-President —surely one of the most cynical tricks in American political history. On almost every issue his views are the complete negation of Willkie's, and he was obviously intended to camouflage Willkie in the farm belt. So far the trick seems to have worked amazingly well—so well that west of the Mississippi McNary is almost regarded as head of the ticket. McNary gives the impression of regarding politics as a rather sharp poker game in which cool-headed professional gamblers are playing for high stakes, but if he really believes in anything, it is probably in the farmer's way of life. He dislikes Washington and all big cities. He still lives on the nut-and-prune farm in Oregon where he was born sixty-six years ago. His outstanding hold upon history is his sponsorship of the famous McNary-Haugen bill. Twice passed by Congress, this measure was twice vetoed by Calvin Coolidge, who called it "unworkable and unconstitutional."

Under the McNary-Haugen plan, government corporations would buy the surplus of farm commodities which have an exportable surplus. The purchase price would be the foreign price plus the American tariff duty. The corporations would then dump their purchases abroad for whatever they could get. For example, if the wheat crop were 750,000,000 bushels, and the domestic consumption only 600,000,000 bushels, the government would be forced to dispose of 150,000,000 bushels abroad. If the foreign price were 50 cents and the tariff duty the present one of 42 cents, the government would pay the farmer 92 cents, and sell abroad at 50 cents. The loss would be charged back to the farmer through an equalization fee. In theory, the net result would be to bring the price of the whole crop to a figure below 92 cents but considerably above 50 cents. But the plan has two serious shortcomings. First, it makes no provision whatever for crop control, and, second, it is doubtful whether its dumping provisions could ever be carried into successful operation, since foreign countries strictly limit their wheat imports, whatever the price.

The McNary-Haugen bill represents the high mark of Republican thought on farm problems. In recent years the Republicans have been tagging along somewhat out of breath several paces to the rear of the Democrats. This year the only crop for which the Republicans have a plan is the vote crop. After a conference with farm leaders in Des Moines on August 5, Willkie was obliged to indorse the Democratic farm record. "I do not favor changing the present farm program unless a better one is gradually evolved," said Willkie. The truth is that the Republicans are unable to solve the farm problem. They have done only one substantial thing for the farmer, and that was seventy years ago, when Lincoln carried out his promise to enact the Homestead law. Since then the record is barren of accomplishment. The limitations of McNary and Willkie are the limitations of the Republican Party. It is impossible for men with McNary's faith in high protection and isolation and with Willkie's faith in untrammeled big business and high finance to work out the program of land and social reform that must eventually be worked out to solve the farm problem.

On the other hand, the Democratic farm record under Roosevelt is full of accomplishment. The Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed on May 12, 1933, only a few days more than two months after Roosevelt was inaugurated. The moving spirit behind this prompt action was Henry Agard Wallace. He and his father before him had tried for years to right the farmer's wrongs. The elder Wallace was Secretary of Agriculture under Harding and Coolidge. He died in office in 1924.

Henry Agard Wallace

Henry Wallace presents the rare and delightful spectacle of a man in public office whom you actually can watch grow. The Wallace of 1940 is a definitely bigger man than the Wallace of 1932, and he shows every indication of being a still bigger man by 1944. In 1932 Wallace's social interests were limited to the farm; today they are spreading out over the whole of society. Rather reluctantly at first he gave his approval to the reciprocal-trade-agreements policy. Today he is an enthusiastic supporter of it; and he has recently made himself proficient in Spanish so that he can both speak to South America and understand it.

It is uncertain whether the Democratic Party will be able to go on to a broader and more permanent solution of the farm problem. So far the Democrats have dealt with it mainly as an emergency. They have failed to see the need for broad social and land reform, for changes in forms of ownership and methods of operation; they have failed to draw the necessary distinction between the big landowners, often absentee, and the farm worker and tenant. Wallace himself is probably not yet ready to draw the distinction, but his growth suggests that in time he may be ready. However, the Democrats must be given credit for much permanent foundation work. Three pillars of the Roosevelt-Wallace structure will certainly remain forever—crop control, soil conservation, and the ever-normal granary. Wallace's conception of the ever-normal granary is the conception of a statesman.

The reciprocal-trade-agreements program will probably be the heaviest burden for the Democrats to carry in the farm belt. The Republicans have been building up the issue for four years. They found it extremely

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useful in making their Congressional gains in 1938, and it has become even more effective since our foreign markets for farm products have been lost one after another to Hitler's armies. The farm belt sums it up like this, "What is the use of planning to trade with foreign nations when they are not planning to trade with us?"

That comes close to being Willkie's position, too. Six months ago Willkie was strongly for the reciprocal-trade agreements, and in his prospective nomination many Republican chieftains saw the loss of a winning issue. But on June 25, when his nomination was still uncertain, Willkie spoke out against the agreements. Hitler, he said, had legislated them out of existence. Now here Willkie rather ostentatiously misses the whole point. The Democratic position is, as Secretary Hull and President Roosevelt have repeatedly insisted, that the trade-agreements program is a part of the democratic process which we offer to the world as superior to the totalitarian process.

However, Willkie's statement was well received in the farm belt. McNary, of course, as an old high-tariff man, is an outstanding foe of the agreements. So the Republicans expect to press the issue with all their power. The charge that the American farmer has been "sold down the river" by the trade treaties will not bear examination, but there is abundant evidence that farmers are not worried so much about what has happened as about what might happen if the pacts were continued and extended. The proposed agreements with Argentina and Uruguay sent shivers through the whole farm belt and aroused so much opposition that they had to be abandoned. Similar opposition has developed to any plan for helping South American countries dispose of their agricultural surpluses. Although all proposed plans envisage the sale of South American surpluses in Europe and not in the United States, farmers are still afraid that in some way the prices of their own crops will be lowered. Middle Western farmers do not care a pin for South America. They would much prefer to have the Argentine, for example, trade with a Nazi-dominated Europe, and even become Nazi-dominated itself, than to see a pound of Argentine beef or a bushel of Argentine wheat come sneaking into the American market.

The New Deal is aware that it has an uphill fight in the farm belt. It hoped that Wallace would offset McNary and be able also to stand off the tide of rural conservatism, but how many of the farmers Wallace can hold in line is uncertain. Since he has never before run for public office, his ability as a vote-getter is unknown. He is popular with farmers, highly respected everywhere, and for two generations the name of Wallace has stood in the Middle West for sincere devotion to the farmer's cause. Wallace cannot carry the farm belt for the Democrats; but he ought to be able to help them carry the two or three or four agricultural-industrial states in the Middle West that they probably must have to win the election.

After Election Day two questions will remain. First, will the Democratic Party, if it wins, find the courage and the vision to carry on its farm program to a permanent solution? Second, will the American farmer ever learn to vote for tomorrow?

Aviation's Sitdown Strike

BY I. F. STONE

III. How to Build 50,000 Planes

DURING the second quarter of this year aircraft companies showed aggregate profits 129.8 per cent above the corresponding period of last year. Aviation's sitdown strike was not staged by impoverished concerns unable to bear any share of the burden entailed by a great defense program. The eight major companies are in the fortunate position of having no funded debt, and with one exception, and that a suspicious one, their earnings for the first half of this year represent a return of from 25 to 50 per cent a year on the book value of their common stock. In six months United Aircraft earned $2.34 on a book value of $12.25 a share; Curtiss Wright earned 68 cents per share on a book value of $3.92; Lockheed earned about $2 on a book value of $8.78. One is tempted to say that the principal bottleneck has been the greedy throat of a pampered industry. If this seems a harsh verdict, I turn to a respected financial organ for support. "Probably the worst business can justly be accused of," says a writer in *Barron's,* "is the normal practice of trying to drive the best bargain possible." This attempt at apology is sufficient condemnation.

As important as a clear understanding of the patriotism to be expected from the aircraft industry is an open-eyed appraisal of the role played by the National Defense Advisory Commission. Theoretically the commission is made up of public-spirited and conscientious business men (garnished with a sprinkling of liberals and one labor leader) who have but one object—the speedy and efficient handling of defense. Actually the events of the

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past few months have shown that the commission has done more to cover up the cupidity of business than to disclose and correct the dangerous weaknesses in our defense. This was strikingly demonstrated a few weeks ago. On August 7 rumors of a sitdown strike in aviation were "emphatically denied" by the Defense Commission. On August 8, in a prepared radio broadcast, William S. Knudsen, production chief of the commission, was asked: "Is it true that not a single combat plane has been contracted for out of the money appropriated by Congress up to August 1?" "No," was his reply, "it is not true. The navy, for example, contracted for $7,000,000 worth of combat planes in July. But more important than that is the overall picture. Take the moneys appropriated by Congress thus far for the defense program. They cover about 4,200-odd planes."

So far Mr. Knudsen was disingenuous rather than untruthful, but as he went on only a thin verbal partition separated him from falsehood. "I would like to add," he said, "that of the money available to us on July 1, five weeks ago, contracts have already been awarded for 45 per cent of the entire army funds and 75 per cent of the navy's funds." The very next day Secretary of War Stimson told a joint Congressional committee that although Congress had appropriated $400,000,000 since June for 4,000 fighting planes, "we have been able to sign contracts for but 33." The joker in the Knudsen statement—David Lawrence was the first to point it out—lay in the use of the word "awarded," the avoidance of the word "signed." The contracts were being "awarded," but Mr. Knudsen forgot to add that the aviation companies were declining to accept the awards. As a matter of fact, a survey by the New York *Herald Tribune* revealed on August 25 that we have 80 fewer combat planes today than we had at the beginning of the year. So conservative a paper as the New York *Times* objected editorially on August 26 to what it termed "window-dressing" contracts, "the placing of a huge volume of contracts just to make a showing, just to make the public believe that rapid 'progress' is being made." The commission's production chief seems to be its chief window dresser.

In this respect the commission's publicity releases have paralleled the statements issued from time to time by the aviation companies. Ever since the President gave in to them on July 12, promising repeal of profit limitations and enactment of five-year amortization, the companies have been assuring the public that they were going "full steam" ahead. There seems some doubt that the vapor was steam. "We are ready to build airplanes first and talk about profits afterward," said the latest statement issued by the presidents of the Douglas, Lockheed, Boeing, and Vultee companies on August 20. But nowhere in the statement do they say that they are prepared to sign contracts now and adjust the details of amortization afterward. The parallelism between the utterances of the commission and the aviation industry is not surprising, since the major companies are represented on the commission's staff and dealings between the two are hardly up to arm's-length bargaining specifications. In dealing with Congress the commission has served as a super-lobbyist for the defense industries. United States Steel and the du Pont enterprises are the dominant factors in the defense market. An executive of United States Steel and an executive of the du Pont-controlled General Motors dominate the Defense Commission. The du Ponts are still a major factor in American aviation.

An independent commission prepared to act with vigor could have ended the aviation sitdown strike weeks ago by placing the facts before the public. The strike began when Congress on June 28 reduced the limit on plane profits from 10 to 8 per cent—8 per cent on the contract, not 8 per cent return on invested capital. It continued even after the President and Congressional leaders on July 12 promised repeal of the profit limitations and five-year amortization. A huge expansion of aviation plant is necessary, but it could have been provided for as easily and as simply as the government has provided for the construction and leasing of new powder and aerial-cannon plants. The companies did not need to take any risks if they did not want to; the government could have built new plants for them to operate on lease. But with a huge backlog of Franco-British orders on hand, the companies preferred to hold up the defense program while they haggled. It is the bottlenecks in our economy that yield the most profit. The aviation companies didn't need the orders. The *Blitzkrieg* was dramatizing the importance of aviation in defense. Aviation was in the best position to act as spearhead for all the defense industries in a drive against limitations and effective profits taxes.

Some of Wall Street's master minds no doubt thought the sitdown strike could be capitalized politically, for in the curious arithmetic of the right the unpatriotic delay of the plane companies and the great need for planes added up to the failure of social reform. Organs that usually stressed the importance of economy saw no need to limit profits on planes. Those who were ordinarily for a balanced budget thought excess-profits taxes could wait. "Salus populi suprema lex," the *Wall Street Journal* thundered eruditely in a demand that labor make wage sacrifices for defense. Quite other and less Roman was the *suprema lex* it applied to business. "We cannot expect 'little business men,'" the same paper said of aviation delays, "to discard their sense of responsibility to possible partners, stockholders, bondholders, families, and employees and in a wave of patriotism discard all principles of sound business." This soon merged into another variation of a familiar theme. The New Deal, in defense as elsewhere, was opposed to

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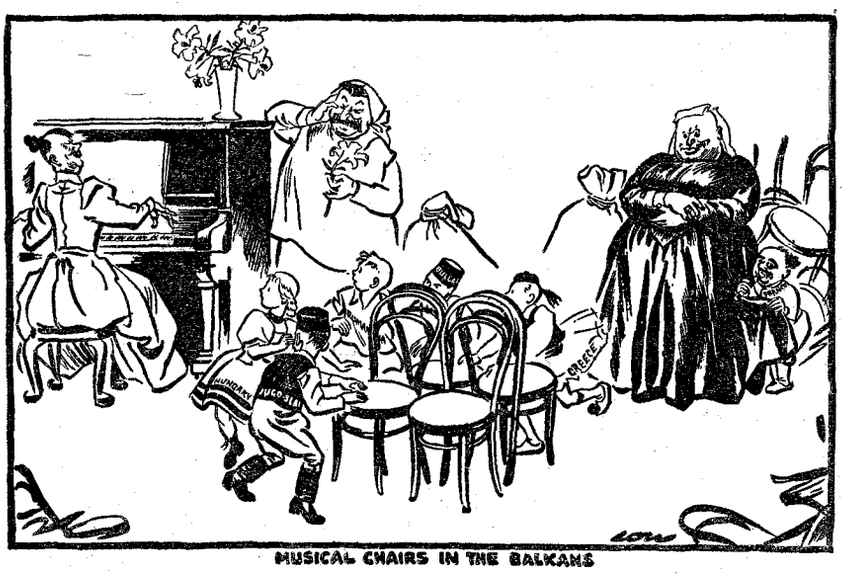
"sound business methods." The Popular Front in France had been opposed to "sound business methods." France had fallen. *Ergo:* America would fall unless it had an Administration prepared to give business anything it asked. This syllogism had the blind staggers, but it might serve in an election year.

The idea that France fell because it had a Popular Front government which failed to pamper business is as full of loopholes as a cost-plus contract. The Popular Front went out of office two years before the war began. England, under the Conservative governments of Baldwin and Chamberlain, was far more poorly prepared than France. Nazi Germany built up its war machine not by pampering business but by enforcing a system of harsh priorities, overriding vested interests to establish new war industries, and sharply limiting dividends. Pierre Cot, the French republic's most famous Air Minister, said the other day that it proved impossible to get the French high command "to think in terms of air warfare." Frank C. Hanighen, in a special supplement to the weekly *Uncensored,* reports that the partial nationalization of the French aviation industry by the Popular Front was enacted for moral and technical rather than "socialistic" reasons. The vote in the Chamber—484 to 85—indicates that the measure had the approval of many conservatives. An order for 1,000 planes placed by the French government in 1934 with the private aviation industry was not completed and delivered until three years later—when the planes were already obsolete. Under government control plane production improved, but the change had been too long delayed, and engine production had been left entirely in private hands. There is evidence that as late as 1938 at least one of the great French engine companies had been selling engines to the Reich—no doubt for "sound business" reasons. Flandin, one of Hitler's stooges in France, was also one of French aviation's leading figures. "Sordid materialism" was the phrase he once applied, not to the industry's sabotage of French defense, but to the demands of French workers for better living standards. We have our Flandins, too.

The real lesson to be drawn from French and British experience is that it is folly to leave defense in the control of big-business interests. The recent Richard Thomas Steel Company scandal in England shows that even now the British steel cartel is putting profits ahead of national safety. Our way out is comparatively easy, if we act quickly. We have an aviation industry of tiny proportions, still doing business largely on a hand-tooled basis. There are orders enough to keep it busy for years, and with an occasional session in the woodshed of public opinion it should be able to do its part in national defense. But alongside this baby industry we need to develop under government auspices and control a new mass-production industry for planes and particularly for plane engines. The writer does not pretend to be an authority on aviation, but he would like to call the attention of members of Congress to two recent articles in conservative financial publications which support this view. Little attention has been paid to them, for the proposals they make or imply would disturb the vested interest that aviation companies have in their present high-cost, small-output methods.

The first article is a front-page signed editorial by Joseph E. Ridder, publisher of the New York *Journal of Commerce,* which appeared in that publication on July 15. Mr. Ridder cannot be described as a socialist. He pointed out that the production of engines was the key problem in building up a great air fleet, that Germany alone had succeeded in manufacturing engines by mass-production methods. He said it might cost $30,000,000 or more to make the test and that "no private enterprise could risk the very large capital investment required." "What has prevented the government," Mr. Ridder asked, "from proceeding with the immediate equipment of a test plant to turn out aircraft engines by mass-production methods? Probably it is due to the fact that no one wants to take the blame if the experiment should fail. The industrialists who are contributing so largely to the defense program in an advisory capacity cannot afford to take the risk of suggesting a costly and still doubtful experiment. Government officials, who have the final say, also fear to take the blame in cases of failure. . . . In this matter, however, we cannot afford to close our eyes to the lesson taught by recent events in Europe." Mr. Ridder's suggestion makes sense to me, particularly in view of the fantastically small output of existing aircraft-engine plants. The Allison plant of General Motors has yet to reach an output of thirty engines a month.



MUSICAL CHAIRS IN THE BALKANS

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The second article to which I refer also stresses the need for mass-production methods if the President's goal of 50,000 planes is to be reached. It was written by Horace N. Gilbert of the California Institute of Technology and published in the *Annalist* for August 15. Mr. Gilbert contrasts the methods still used in the manufacture of aircraft with those used in the production of automobiles. He believes that the mere enlargement of present plants, without a change in the basic method of production, would not solve the problem. "Output per worker probably would suffer, and unit costs might rise." He estimates that American aviation will have produced 5,000 planes during the first year of the present war and that the gap between 5,000 planes and 50,000 planes is too wide to be bridged without a radical change in production methods. He would leave present plants undisturbed and set up new plants under government ownership, but private operation, for mass production of planes. This would increase output enormously and lower costs.

Aviation's sitdown strikers are unlikely to greet these proposals with enthusiasm, but their opposition is no more reasonable than would be that of old-fashioned shoemakers who tried to block any attempt to provide the army with shoes by machine methods. Unfortunately a Defense Advisory Commission dominated by aviation interests is unlikely to advise the government to go ahead and make planes the cheapest and fastest way. But why can't a Congressional committee get the facts and provide the action?

[*This article concludes Mr. Stone's series.*]

Trotsky and Stalin

BY LOUIS FISCHER

THE feud between Stalin and Trotsky was a battle of giants that rocked the Soviet Union for many years and profoundly affected world events. It was a relentless combat in which neither man released his grip. Only death could separate them. And to the day of his death Trotsky continued to attack the dictator who prevented him from succeeding Lenin. There were venom, force, and the rage of inhibited genius in Trotsky's verbal thrusts against the master of the Kremlin. But Stalin? He has won. He governs the Soviet Union. Yet he too never suspended hostilities. Unremittingly he pursued Trotsky all over the world. The Moscow trials were first of all trials of Trotsky for contumacy. The purges were directed against Trotsky's friends, against friends of those friends, against Communists who might be or become Trotskyists. The blood feud between the two revolutionists went on to the end, although one was the mighty ruler of 180,000,000 people and the other a struggling writer in a small country off the world's highway.

Tens of thousands of men and women have been shot or imprisoned or sent to rot in frozen wastes because of this epic war between Trotsky and Stalin. Soviet domestic and foreign policies were perverted by it. History has been rewritten and distorted. The whole labor movement of the world was rent and weakened by the Trotsky-Stalin enmity. In 1939 I discussed the Soviet purges and Moscow trials with John Strachey, a British popularizer of Marxism. He said, "They helped to bring on Munich." Hitler's victory over Czechoslovakia, perhaps even the Second World War, reflects this fantastic bout between the Ukrainian Jew and the son of an illiterate cobbler born in a Georgian village on the Caucasian watershed between Europe and Asia.

Was this historic duel personal, or was it a clash of ideas? Trotsky admitted that he had a violent dislike for Stalin. "He always repelled me," Trotsky wrote in his autobiography. His characteristics, he continued, are "a narrowness of interests, empiricism, psychological crudeness, and the peculiar cynicism of a provincial."

The long controversy between the Stalinites and the Trotskyites concerned itself with the world revolution, the Chinese revolution, and the Kremlin's economic policies in Russia. Yet years before any of these problems had arisen, Stalin was intriguing against Trotsky, and Trotsky was appealing to Lenin against Stalin. Stalin appears to have been jealous of Trotsky from the very beginning. In the autumn of 1918 Trotsky was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner. Leo Kamenev, Assistant Premier under Lenin, proposed that Stalin be granted the same decoration. "What for?" exclaimed Mikhail Kalinin, later President of the Soviet Union. "Don't you understand," Bukharin elucidated, "Lenin thought this out. Stalin can't live if he hasn't got what the other fellow has. He can't forgive it." Lenin advised Trotsky to compromise with Stalin. But no compromise could be effected between these two.

Trotsky was direct and merciless in his criticisms. He ignored individual psychology or did not understand it. He stepped on people's corns. And, as Trotsky has testified, Stalin systematically collected those on whose corns Trotsky had trod. Trotsky could not subordinate himself to anyone. He even found difficulty in submitting to Lenin and declined to be Lenin's right-hand man. He

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preferred a field of activity for himself where he would be first. Trotsky was an erratic, capricious individualist. His speeches and articles warmed and thrilled multitudes, but in his personal relations he was cold. People were cold to him. Even Lenin, of a friendly, sunny disposition, could not get close to Trotsky and in writing to him addressed him as "Respected Comrade," instead of "Dear Comrade." Chicherin used to say to me, "Trotsky is a prima donna."

There was something of the pedant in Trotsky. He was a master administrator and organizer and insisted on the execution of instructions and on the strictest attention to details. In his personal dress and habits he was neat. His desk was a model of order. He tried to teach Russians punctuality, Russians who, when they arrive four hours late for an appointment, will say casually, "Sorry, I was delayed by a telephone call." These elements in his character made him a successful army leader but a poor politician. He never obtained a hold on the party machine, and there is no evidence that he ever tried. Trotsky held his head so high above the clouds that his feet never stood on the solid ground of party organization. He was brilliant, fiery, magnetic, and a great intellect. But he was a Gibraltar without a hinterland, a dreadnought sailing the seas without escort. He was therefore easily vulnerable to sub-surface attack. The enemy could creep up on him in stealth. Stalin is not nearly so good a speaker or writer as Trotsky was, and has much less education, culture, and Marxist knowledge. But the party secretaries were his lieutenants.

Lenin's authority might have kept Stalin and Trotsky at peace. With him gone and the number one post waiting for an occupant, there was not enough room in the Communist movement for both of them. Emphasis has often been placed and misplaced on the theoretical chasm that yawned between Stalin's position and Trotsky's. In many instances, however, the cleavage was a question of speed and timing. Both Trotsky and Stalin wanted soviets in China, Trotsky earlier, Stalin later. A few months, to be sure, may make all the difference between success and failure. But if Trotsky and Stalin had not been political enemies moving at cross-purposes they might have arrived at a compromise on the China issue. Trotsky advocated suppression of the rich peasant kulak in 1926. Stalin suppressed the kulak after he had suppressed Trotsky in 1928. Stalin's Five-Year Plan in 1929 provoked little adverse criticism from Trotsky. Trotsky never said in Russia that Stalin was not a Bolshevik. And nobody believed Trotsky was not a good Bolshevik.

Was it, then, a wall of unalterable theory that divided Stalin from Trotsky? It was because of Stalin's rudeness and power-hunger that Lenin did not recommend him for Soviet leadership, not because of his ideas on economics and politics. In his last testament, placed in Krupskaya's safekeeping in December, 1922, Lenin wrote: "Comrade Stalin, having become general secretary of the party, has concentrated tremendous power in his hands, and I am not sure he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution." A little later Lenin asked Krupskaya for the testament and added this striking postscript: "Stalin is too rude. . . . I propose to the comrades to find a way of removing Stalin. . . . This circumstance may seem an insignificant trifle. But I think that from the point of view of preventing a split in the party, and from the point of view of the relations between Stalin and Trotsky . . . it is not a trifle, or it is a trifle that may acquire decisive significance." Lenin foresaw the great contest. His testament is to this day unpublished in the Soviet Union. Krupskaya read it twice to meetings of the Central Committee, and it has been carried by word of mouth, but not very far, strangely enough. Few Russians of my acquaintance ever heard of Lenin's will. It hurt Stalin little.

[*This article is excerpted from a chapter in Louis Fischer's autobiography, to be published next winter.*]

Schacht's New Plan

[We print below without change or interpretation an unpublished interview with the former president of the Reichsbank, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht. The interview was obtained by a prominent Swedish journalist whose name, although known to us, must be concealed. The substance of the interview was suppressed in Sweden, not because it lacked importance or authenticity, but because the Swedish press must observe continual caution lest the country's precarious relations with Germany be disturbed. The summary came into our hands through a source in which we place complete confidence.

The fact that Dr. Schacht has been intrusted by Hitler with the task of perfecting the Nazi scheme for the economic reconstruction of Europe which is to follow the expected triumph of German arms has been widely published. To carry out this assignment he has retired to his estate in East Prussia, where he is at work with a staff of secretaries and translators on a book in which his views will be set forth. In the interview granted the Swedish journalist he outlined the contents of this book, now said to be almost completed.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

1. The introduction deals with the breakdown of Europe after the World War, stressing the failure of German financial policy during the Weimar Republic and putting the blame for the economic ruin of Germany upon the Allies. It contains some critical remarks on American policy in relation to German economics.

2. The reorganization of German economics after 1933. The principle of planned foreign trade, abandon-

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ment of free exchange, the fixing of prices regardless of supply and demand. The value of labor made the basis for determining prices of merchandise and materials.

3. The causes of the present war: Germany's debts, its lack of raw materials, its displacement from former markets, strangulation of credits by the United States, the boycott of Nazi Germany. "The contrast between rich and poor became increasingly unbearable." England and the United States as the "haves" and Germany and Italy as the "have nots." "This war is an uprising against British and American plutocracy."

4. After-effects of the war. Germany and Italy will reorganize the entire economic system of Europe, including the former colonial possessions of the defeated countries.

The foundation of a European Export and Import Syndicate has been decided upon. This syndicate will fix the regulations for export trade with the United States, Japan, and Russia. Similar or equivalent organizations would have to be created in those countries, to guarantee successful collaboration. Negotiations with individual firms or groups will be replaced by negotiations with government agencies. Prices, quotas, conditions of delivery and payment will have to be fixed by the E. and I. S. in Europe and by corresponding organizations in the United States, Russia, and Japan. All countries in the Pacific Ocean will be considered European, Japanese, or Russian spheres of influence. The distribution of quotas in Central and South American markets will be arranged between the E. and I. S. and the United States.

The distribution of raw materials is to be regulated by an agreement between Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan, and the United States, according to a fixed plan. Germany will, even after the war, continue to develop its artificial raw-material production. It will do so for two reasons: defense of the country, and quicker and less expensive sources of supply. Dr. Schacht is convinced that in eight or ten years artificial raw materials will be better and cheaper than natural ones.

5. A conference of the banks of issue of the world to be established as a permanent institution. The question of the gold standard is of secondary importance. An agreement on this question with the United States will be aimed at. By seizing South Africa, Germany will become a gold producer too. Besides, the gold shipped to the United States by England and France will be utilized by Germany, Italy, and other states. European debts to the United States will be acknowledged in principle; payment will be made through a special clearing agreement and in proportion to the purchase of goods from Europe by the United States. . . . The Reichsmark is to be declared a free currency again; the free rate, however, will not be applied to exchange of merchandise or to tourist traffic. The present system will be kept for exchange of goods and for tourist traffic.

Within the Gates

THE society page of a recent issue of the Wilkes-Barre (Pennsylvania) *Record* included this interesting announcement: "Complimentary to Boy Scouts in the Poconos, members of the summer colony at Stoddartsville were guests on Friday night of Misses Loulie and Laura Stull at their family homestead, The Maples. Robert Edward Edmondson, public-relations counsel of New York and Pennsylvania, was speaker, and a patriotic flag salute was featured." On the occasion referred to in this item, Mr. Edmondson, after presenting each scout with a small American flag, said: "You scouts know that we Americans live in a republic, but many of our fellow-countrymen, misled by false internationalist propaganda, are calling the United States a democracy under the impression that democracy means the same as republic. You should correct that idea."

Mr. Edmondson's audience might have been less numerous had the scouts and summer colonists known that they were listening to the most prolific fascist propagandist in the United States. They were not told that he has published millions of "Vigilante Bulletins" for distribution by American fascist organizations, and that these are listed by *Weltdienst*, an official German news service, as "must" reading.

Mr. Edmondson's residence in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania dates from 1936, when he was indicted in New York for the criminal libel of two persons and the Jewish religion. Although Judge James Garrett Wallace of General Sessions dismissed the indictments because of certain technicalities, he declared in his opinion, "We must suffer the demagogue and the charlatan in order to make certain that we do not limit or restrain the honest commentator on public affairs."

That Mr. Edmondson is ready to follow a "Leader" was indicated in a letter he wrote to General George Van Horn Moseley prior to the disclosure by the Dies committee in 1939 that the General was the spearhead of a conspiracy to establish a dictatorship in the United States. The letter ran: "Millions of fighting Americans . . . impatiently await fearless, selfless, able leadership to coalesce into a mighty liberation army. . . . These vigilant legions have been crying for 'The Leader.' . . . In this great redemption crusade to restore the republic, we patriots know that you have already laid your life, your fortune, and your sacred honor on the altar of American patriotism. . . . Hail Moseley!"

FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS in this country have recently been increased by three groups—the League to Save America First, Mobilization for American Needs, and the America by Statesmanship Crusade. Behind the façade of meaningless names, however, one sees, in the case of two of the organizations, familiar fascist faces, and further investigation will probably reveal that the other also is new in name only. The chief stock in trade of the League to Save America First is an anti-British pamphlet entitled "The Truth About England." By writing to an address given on its back page —P. O. Box 307, Hollywood, California—one learns that the person who wishes to save America first is none other than Bundsman Hans Diebel, whose Aryan Bookstore is in

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the Deutsches Haus of Los Angeles. From the same address comes a book list advertising "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," "Mein Kampf," Henry Ford's "The Jewish Question," and Edmondson's "Vigilante Bulletins."

To obtain the publications of Mobilization for American Needs one is instructed to write to Room 405, Chapman Building, Los Angeles, which by a strange coincidence is the address of John Henry Peyton, who some years ago organized the American Rangers, a "shirted" organization. In addition to leading his storm troopers Mr. Peyton used to distribute quantities of pamphlets, some of which were published by the Bodung-Verlag, Erfurt, Germany.

Little is known of the America by Statesmanship Crusade other than that its headquarters are in the Yorkville section of New York and that its announced purpose is to combat "pseudo-democracy."

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH may not be very happy about the matter, but he has been adopted by fascist elements in the United States. His radio speeches are more widely quoted by American Nazis than Adolf Hitler's utterances. Copies of his first speech—that of May 19—are given to all customers of the Germania Bookshop, 1523 Third Avenue, New York. The Brooklyn unit of the Christian Front thought so highly of the speech that it issued a special bulletin headed "To All Americans Who Think, Colonel Lindbergh is a Patriot." The *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter,* organ of the German-American Bund, greeted the speech with a seven-column banner head, "Lindbergh Explodes War Hysteria." The *Individualist,* a weekly news letter published in Lincoln, Nebraska, said: "Our nation owes Lindbergh a debt of gratitude." After the second speech Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* backed the colonel for the vice-presidency—as running mate for Wendell Willkie. Before his last speech a speaker for the German-American National Alliance announced over Station WHIP: "I bring a pressing summons to all members and to all listeners to the United Front radio hour to do their duty by attending the great mass-meeting in Soldier Field." At a recent political rally Joseph E. McWilliams, of the Christian Mobilizers, announced that in 1944 "I and Lindbergh" would run the country.

MR. McWILLIAMS, whose candidacy for Congress was discussed in a recent column, has obtained enough signatures to put his name on the Republican ballot. But as this is written he is the defendant in two cases in which he is charged with disturbance of the peace and in another in which assault on a process server is the charge. In New York last week McWilliams and Willkie had a contest to see who would be the first to repudiate the other. Referring to anti-Semitic candidates in general, and to Joseph E. McWilliams in particular, Mr. Willkie said: "I am not interested in the support of anybody who stands for any form of prejudice as to anybody's race or religion or who is in support of any foreign economic or political philosophy in this country." But Mr. McWilliams would not be repudiated. To a street-corner audience in Yorkville he said: "Willkie can't repudiate me. I've already repudiated him." When told of McWilliams's counter-repudiation, Mr. Willkie said: "I am very gratified."

In the Wind

THE POSSIBILITY of a United States-Russian rapprochement is much talked about in Washington just now. The fact that a denunciation of recent Soviet moves was followed promptly by a trade agreement is considered a straw in the wind. It is also known that the President has discussed the subject seriously with his aides in recent weeks.

"AMERICAN MOTHERS" who kept a death watch over the Senate debate on conscription did not gather spontaneously, although the individuals may have thought they did. If you go to the files of *Social Justice,* you'll discover that the Coughlin magazine was acting as house organ for the group last October. It all started in Detroit as the result of definite Coughlinite inspiration.

WHEN THE Department of Justice reopened the Bridges case, it was making a last effort to prevent a wholesale assault on aliens—and unionists—in the form of sweeping and indiscriminate legislation. But Bridges may be sacrificed in the process.

SOCIETY NOTE: Our scouts report that Anne Bullitt has been seen around Southampton wearing a "Roosevelt for Ex-President" button.

THE SCREEN PUBLICISTS' GUILD, a trade union of studio publicity writers, adopted a resolution opposing the Allen (anti-Bridges) bill when it was before the Senate. Soon afterward Harry Warner summoned the members of his studio's publicity department, told them he expected them to bring up the resolution at their next meeting and beat it, and demanded that they "voluntarily" furnish him with the names of those who had sponsored the measure. He wanted to give them to Martin Dies.

NEWSPAPER CABLE DESKS are flooded with unverifiable rumors these days, but this one has popped up in several places—that if and when Britain is forced to capitulate, the man who will head the "appeasement" government is Lord Beaverbrook.

RALPH INGERSOLL, publisher of *PM,* and the *PM* unit of the Newspaper Guild are having some lively debates; the chief disagreement is over the Guild shop.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS for Bethlehem Steel may have a big effect on labor's vote in the coming campaign. Phil Murray, who came out strong for F. D. R. despite Lewis's hostility, is bitter over large awards to the Bethlehem Company and is needling the National Defense Advisory Commission on the subject. He also spoke strongly about the matter on a recent visit to the White House.

[*The $5 prize for August goes to George A. Foster of Pompano, Florida, who sent in the item published last week about the removal of bodies of Negroes from the Dania cemetery.*]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

ONE thing unquestionably can be said about the few lucky, able newspapermen from this whole nation who every year get the chance to study at Harvard as Nieman Fellows in order to become better newspapermen—they are good company. Undoubtedly they work hard in the daytime under such of President Conant's professors as they choose, making good use of their opportunities in Cambridge with the money Lucius W. Nieman made in the newspaper business in Milwaukee. In the evenings they still talk—for all their growing erudition—like such men as Mr. Nieman must have known in his news rooms in Wisconsin, though some are editorial writers from Alabama and others police reporters from Chicago. But it is not at all certain that what they have done with their learning has fulfilled the purpose for which Harvard took the money. Briefly, what they have done with it is to take it to town.

Archibald MacLeish, who was the first shepherd of the Nieman flock, told me about the idea that the fellowships were not offered as prizes to lucky—even prize-worthy—reporters as such, but as people through whom the intellectual standards of journalism in all parts of America might be advanced. The idea was that they would be lights in their parishes when they went back to their papers.

The returning process has not worked out perfectly. Of twenty-one Fellows in the first two years, exactly a third have not gone back to their old jobs. That may exaggerate the situation, since some have gone back to the same towns if not to the same jobs. On the other hand, two-thirds of the men who came from small towns have taken permanent or temporary jobs in bigger places. Only two men got fellowships from New York City, but six Nieman Fellows were working there in the summer of 1940. The New York concentration this year is explained by Harvard in just two letters, *PM,* which at one time had four Fellows on its staff. More disturbing are the cases of two men, picked with some deliberation from the back-country press—one in the South, one in the West—who have left newspapering in their small towns altogether to work on magazines.

Along the Charles River they recognize the situation but accept it philosophically. They told me: "All university education tends to concentrate talent in the larger centers . . . opportunities in journalism are such as to accelerate the metropolitan trend." But they are, I think, practical, too: "Each of the first two groups represented a pretty good proportion of men from the South and from smaller papers. This was partly accidental but also partly deliberate, and some of us hope that there may always be a good representation of men from the smaller places and from the South and West. But the salaries in those places are not competitive with metropolitan salaries. I suppose it must be a little unsettling to a fellow on $35 a week to spend a year with men from Chicago, St. Louis, and New York on $85 a week who seem to have little he hasn't got except a geographical advantage."

"Unsettling" is a mild-enough word, particularly when "the fellowships make them marked men and bring them offers." Perhaps we who read the papers in the provinces should be disturbed. Maybe we have a right to say that we are not getting what Mr. Nieman left us. It is the regionally patriotic attitude, possibly, to expect the Westerner or Southerner to go back to running a Non-Partisan League paper in Bismarck, North Dakota, or to helping write editorials in the Alabama black belt. But newspapermen, South or West or North, are not merely parts of places but people also. And people, even Nieman Fellows, who take the jobs in the biggest places for the best pay are, at worst, American.

Perhaps the Nieman money might have served to lift the journalistic standards in a wide land better if it had not concentrated all the men at such a university as Harvard. Though Cambridge will not readily admit it, they could get the learning they get at Harvard as well in Iowa or North Carolina without cutting the home ties or being subjected to the personal temptations and the private opportunities of the metropolis which is not so far away from Boston. Men from Mississippi would not be exposed to the knowledge that the men who get the bigger salaries in Chicago are not essentially superior. Maybe then *PM* would not have caught them and kept them from going patriotically home.

Maybe. But if there is going to be any turning over in Mr. Nieman's grave, he will have to do it himself. I doubt that there will be. Mr. Nieman did not go to Harvard. He learned to be a printer before he learned to be a reporter who got to be a publisher. But it is in his record that he moved from Bear Creek, Sauk County, Wisconsin, a village so small that it does not even make the "World Almanac," to Milwaukee (population 1930, 578,249). It was not a long trip, but it was for the same purpose as that which motivates the men who move now on his money. He could hardly blame them for that.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

FREDA UTLEY was one of the "casualties" of the Stalin counter-revolution in Soviet Russia; and in her book "The Dream We Lost" (John Day, $2.75) is unfolded one of the countless personal dramas to which the impersonal earthquakes of history must always come down. By any standard it is an extraordinarily moving story; but because Miss Utley's background, her beliefs and hopes were those of a whole generation, her story is made at times almost unbearable by the reader's sense of identification.

"I came to communism," she writes, "via Greek history, the French revolutionary literature I had read in childhood, and the English nineteenth-century poets of freedom; not as a révolté against a strict bourgeois upbringing . . . but profoundly influenced by a happy childhood, a Socialist father, and a Continental education." Her father had known William Morris, had been a friend of Marx's daughters, had spoken from the same platform with Friedrich Engels. His Marxism, and her own, was "colored and humanized by the nineteenth-century atmosphere, and he early implanted in my mind those libertarian values which have . . . motivated me all my life." It was these values which led her into the Communist Party in England, and which, once she had confronted the realities of Soviet life, made her "recoil in horror from the degradation and enslavement of the human mind which are the predominant features of Stalin's Russia."

Miss Utley went to Russia in 1930 as the wife of a Soviet expert whom she had met in London. Within a year disillusionment had set in, but it was not until 1936 that she returned to England. In that year her husband was arrested, suddenly and senselessly. She never saw him again.

In the intervening five years she had lived and worked in a world of increasing misery. Her picture of these years is not all black; otherwise it would not be so convincing. There is light as well as shadow, but the shadows grew steadily longer. To a greater extent than most foreigners she lived as an ordinary citizen, but she was protected from the full impact of repression and poverty by her British passport; she was sustained by a close personal relationship. When it was broken by her husband's arrest and when her attempts to help him, even to see him, proved futile, she left Russia. But it was not until three years later, when her hope of his release had finally died, that she decided to tell the truth about "socialism" in Soviet Russia. "It is possible," she writes, "that he still lives. But it is impossible that we should ever meet again, since I can never return to the U. S. S. R. and he can never leave it."

Miss Utley's personal history is the most absorbing part of her book, not only because it recites dramatic events, but because it records, with the restraint that genuine and deep emotion enforces, the growth to maturity of a sensitive, intelligent, and admirable human being. But her own story occupies only four chapters of the thirteen. Six of the remaining nine are devoted to a searching analysis, economic, political, and social, of the structure of Soviet society and its results in human terms. Since Miss Utley in her own right is a trained and experienced investigator, these chapters are as convincing as they are devastating. And while her hatred of the Stalin regime is understandably bitter, the documentation of her indictment, based on six years of personal observation and scholarly analysis of Soviet statistics, is made tremendously impressive by the respect for fact and the transparent integrity that inform her book from beginning to end.

Her most striking conclusion is that the national socialism of Russia is worse, in terms of human suffering and economic inefficiency, than the national socialism of Germany. To cite only one of her comparisons, she points out that while Hitler has imprisoned or, luckily for the victims, expelled tens of thousands, Stalin has consigned hundreds of thousands to concentration camps—so many in fact that the G. P. U. is now conducting "public works" on such a scale that it may well have a vested interest in increasing its supply of forced labor by arrest—and "undesirables" are never allowed to leave, a fact which explains why Dachau but not Solovetsk is a symbol for cruelty in the lexicon of liberal opinion.

The conclusion stated above is the premise of Miss Utley's last three chapters, which together comprise a swift survey of the world situation. They could serve as the synopsis for a full-length book, and they suffer from condensation. Miss Utley has not thought her way through all the contradictions. Some of her conclusions seem to be at odds with others, and many of them will arouse sharp disagreement. But her point of view, her experience, and her determination to pierce the fog of wishful thinking make these chapters very much worth reading.

THE BURDEN of "Labor's Civil War" by Herbert Harris (Alfred A. Knopf, $2.50) is twofold: that the continued division in labor's ranks can only result in the weakening of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and that a strong and united labor movement is the best safeguard not only of labor but of the people as a whole against the pressures of reaction, which will increase, not decrease, in an economy geared more and more closely to defense. These are simple and obvious facts, but they need to be driven home. As Mr. Harris says, "it is a point too often neglected that complete control over the producing force is the keystone of the totalitarian state." When the average man, justifiably annoyed with the quarrels of C. I. O. and A. F. of L., mouths the anti-union views of reaction, he is chipping at the main bulwark against an attack on his own purchasing power and political independence. (To the easy silk-shirt argument that in the rush for defense labor will get more than its just share, "as it did in the last war," he opposes figures to show that "labor

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on the average got exactly $1.30 in 1918 with which to buy $1.74 worth of rent, milk, and clothing.)

Mr. Harris demonstrates that the issue of craft versus industrial unionism has long ceased to have any meaning in the feud between C. I. O. and A. F. of L. and that it has now come down to a question of prestige and stubbornness. It is his judgment that in recent months the responsibility for the failure of peace efforts has rested mainly with John L. Lewis. He gives a thoughtful appraisal of the functions of the NLRB, its personnel, and its record, and he flays the suicidal attempt of the A. F. of L. to emasculate the board's powers. He charges the A. F. of L. with the responsibility for ending racketeering, which is limited in extent but supplies perfect copy for labor-baiters. He also discusses the role of the Stalinists in the labor movement. He emphasizes throughout the necessity for labor to put its house in order if it is to regain the public good-will it needs now as never before. "Labor's Civil War" is authoritative and informed, and the fact that Mr. Harris discusses personalities as well as problems adds to its "reader interest."

MARGARET MARSHALL

A Study of Dostoevski

DOSTOEVSKI: THE MAKING OF A NOVELIST. By Ernest J. Simmons. Oxford University Press. $3.

MR. SIMMONS protests that Dostoevski, though oracular and haunted by ideas, was primarily a literary artist. And he sets out, like Enid Starkie in her recent study of Rimbaud, to rescue his man from the rhapsodists and God-seekers who have tried to make him their own. To cut away the mysteries that have accumulated around Dostoevski without at the same time cutting down his stature is a job which other critics have attempted and found too delicate. Mr. Simmons succeeds. And he manages to restore Dostoevski, the craftsman, without denying the vital action of ideas upon his art. Mr. Simmons has gained greatly as a critic since his life of Pushkin.

The present book has no thesis in the usual sense, but it does occupy itself pretty exclusively with one aspect of Dostoevski—his obsession with psychological dualism. Ambivalence is a familiar theme in discussions of Dostoevski, but Mr. Simmons gives it a closer examination than it has commonly received. He shows how the novelist, doubtless moved to it by his own emotional experience, built his plots around the sufferings and ambiguities of the conflict-ridden hero, or "Double" (Raskolnikov, Stavrogin, Ivan Karamazov, etc.). Mr. Simmons follows this type through the novels, noting its mutations from the crude into the complex, from the pathological into the ideological. And he shows how the Double is surrounded by other recurring types which serve as moral foils. Such are the Meek (Sonya, Myshkin, Alyosha) and their opposite, the Self-willed (Svidrigailov, Verkhovenski). These secondary types—which nevertheless often play major roles in the novels, are incarnations, more or less pure, of either the humble side or the arrogant side of the Double's nature. They are absolutes made flesh, and, as Mr. Simmons admits, they don't always convince a modern reader. Like the unfortunate epilogue of "Crime and Punishment," in which Dostoevski gave up the tragic method for the ideological happy ending and tried to settle things by Christian fiat, they bear witness to his occasional difficulty in reconciling his artistic and metaphysical purposes.

There was more behind Dostoevski's metaphysics, however, than his obsession with psychic dualism. He lived through the dark years of czarism, and his own emotional experience coincided with the tortuous political experience of the Russian people, divided, as they were, between submission and revolt. Much of his unique power as a writer hung upon this coincidence, and Mr. Simmons might have made more of it than he has. He does, however, sketch in the main issues of the time and indicate something of its temper. And he gives an excellent account of the profound and almost "traumatic" effect upon the older novelist of the young radicals of the sixties. Likewise admirable is Mr. Simmons's discussion of Dostoevski's own politics. Here also the pervasive dualism operated, and for Dostoevski "humanity . . . tended to divide itself between the peoples of the West, whose self-will leads them to support an ideal of universal conquest by force, and the peoples of the East, who fulfil their ideal of universal service through meekness and submission."

F. W. DUPEE

The Miracle of Lourdes

BERNADETTE OF LOURDES. By Margaret Gray Blanton. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.50.

THE scientist's desire to eliminate the irrational and illogical elements from life and to replace them with exact knowledge has often been frustrated by the people whom he wished to deliver. Unfortunately he has rarely been able to consider this behavior dispassionately as a part of the body of knowledge which he was gathering and has too often reacted irrationally and illogically himself. This emotional attitude makes possible situations such as that which arose at Lourdes in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when there was heated argument about whether a poor, starved little peasant girl, Bernadette, had witnessed a miraculous visitation or experienced a hallucination when she saw a beautiful little lady in a cave where village pigs were wont to forage.

So strong became the irritation of the authorities over this episode that the actual miracle which took place—thousands of people swarming through the village day and night to search in a muddy cavern for the blessing of love—was regarded only as a reprehensible and anti-social aftermath of a not very credible incident. The nature of the compelling need which still brings to Lourdes a million people every year apparently aroused no curiosity, and thus the opportunity of studying a powerful natural force was neglected while the veracity of poor Bernadette was subjected to a most exhaustive inquiry.

The author and her husband, Dr. Smiley Blanton, a psychiatrist, have attempted to repair this oversight by a careful study of the entire phenomenon of the cures at Lourdes. The fact that Bernadette's story lends form to a principle that has confused the understanding of wise men in all ages, and that is worthy of much more scientific consideration than it has hitherto received, makes it significant.

JEAN LYLE

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Newcomer from Australia

HAPPY VALLEY. By Patrick White. Viking Press. $2.50.

THIS first novel by a twenty-seven-year-old Anglo-Australian manifests an unusually mature and objective perception of the springs of personality, a startling insight into the mechanism of the mind. Using a stream-of-consciousness technique that recalls Virginia Woolf at her best, Mr. White adroitly translates into words the subtle counterpoint of thought-fragment melting into thought-fragment, bits of memory and mental irritation pursuing each other like damned spirits through the never-idle brain. Such passages, of course, do not monopolize the book; they are skilfully interspersed throughout the main current of straight narrative.

Of plot in the conventional sense the book has only what is furnished by the cramped lives of the inhabitants of a little town in the south of Australia. They suffer the inhibitions and neuroses common to small provincial towns everywhere: acrid jealousies that had their beginning in a dance program or a new hearth rug, erotic impulses sublimated into Grundyism or indulged furtively and sordidly under the leer of snooping neighbors. Dr. Halliday's brief love affair with an old-maidish music teacher impinges accidentally on the drab intrigue between the schoolmaster's sluttish wife and a healthy male animal, who in turn plays a vital part in the emotional quirks of a spoiled young girl on whose father's ranch he is foreman.

In tracing this tangle of petty lives Mr. White writes with consummate skill, impersonally yet not without sympathy. Given a more significant story, he may turn out a novel of foremost distinction.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Hamlet Is Not Enough

DEATH IS NOT ENOUGH. By Michael Fraenkel. London: The C. W. Daniel Company. 7*s.* 6*d.*

HAMLET. By Henry Miller and Michael Fraenkel. Santurce, Puerto Rico: Carrefour. $3.

THE COSMOLOGICAL EYE. By Henry Miller. Norfolk, Connecticut: New Directions. $2.50.

MICHAEL FRAENKEL is an original American member of the late Parisian group which included Henry Miller, Anaïs Nin, Walter Lowenfels, Alfred Perlès, and Lawrence Durrell; and one of the important present-day essayists. With an aristocratic mentality, a vein of poetry, irony, erudition, and the faculty of analysis, he possesses a number of fresh ideas about life and art.

One of his ideas—the ground-bass of his recent essay collection "Death Is Not Enough"—he names Active Negation. Though grim, it is heroic: universal denial as little as it is the black absence of affirmation of any kind. Indeed, this master-idea of Fraenkel's is nothing short of a conception of a perfection possible in this hour of evil.

Fraenkel would not have the man of spirit simply perish. Neither would he have him struggle to save the world. That, he thinks, cannot be saved and must collapse before it regains health. What he would have the artist do is experience death, hopelessly but enthusiastically live out "the weather" till faith emerging from the unknown restores the primordial bond between earth and heaven. For the man of letters Fraenkel sees a creative opportunity still extant in the form of the personal record and the personal truth.

All his ideas, to be sure, are not pellucid. Take "Hamlet," the little book on which Fraenkel and Henry Miller collaborated. Sometime before November, 1935, the two friends decided to write a thousand pages in the form of letters on the subject of the Prince of Denmark. One gathers it was semi-consciously their intention to solve by this means a problem, possibly personal, related to one of Hamlet's or to one of those the world has made of Shakespeare's character. The thought of bestowing immortality on their happy post-prandial conversation may also have been not far from their minds. The result, which is diverting, fanciful, sometimes sparkling, is all in all unsatisfactory. Nowhere in the course of the eighteen letters that make up the appetizing little book do we get a sharp definition of the ghostly-haunting problem. There is a deal of cafe psychoanalysis, some of it in the sorriest manner of D. H. Lawrence. Eventually the correspondents descend to personalities and belabor one another with bladders. We are left in the end with the sense of a vague clash between two brave stylists whose characters are each other's foils and none the less akin.

Fully to perceive Fraenkel's sufficiency and aristocratic sophistication we must return to "Death Is Not Enough" and its translucent essays. Of these, Beyond the Bread Principle skilfully exhibits the fallacy in all current revolutionary action, proletarian or bourgeois. "It starts off with ideal man at the feed-trough and winds up with man the beast at an empty ideal." The Break with the Head Cult wages brilliant war on the tyranny, over the modern poet, of the conscious specific purpose. The Otherness of D. H. Lawrence penetrates the subject of self-renewal more profoundly than does the famous essay affixed by Aldous Huxley to the volume of Lawrence's letters.

Miller like Fraenkel also appears to far better advantage in *his* solo, "The Cosmological Eye," a representative collection of his shorter pieces. Though analysis and reflection may be this rhapsodist's forte as little as they were Byron's, the essays it includes—on the contrast between D. H. Lawrence and Joyce and Proust, on the fifty-volume diary of Anaïs Nin, on such forbidden movies as "L'âge d'or" and "Ecstase"—easily are juicier than the Hamlet letters. When he is moved beyond himself his intuition can be exciting and imaginative. Still, the book's outstanding pieces are the narratives. Exploiting realistic detail selected, like that of Sherwood Anderson, for symbolic effect, these are work of a symbolist poet who expresses himself in dithyrambic prose. The parallelism to Anderson, extended by the circumstance that Miller's form, too, is inorganic, certainly is not thorough. Miller lacks the sympathy that affords Anderson his glimpses of the heroic and divine. He is raucous; and the significances he perceives—in instances sublimely—largely are comic and horrible. Nor does he feel the contrasts that give Anderson's stories their inner tension; and oftentimes jeweled, his style is the antithesis of the Ohioan's homely one. Yet he too has antennae in "the lap of the invisible, unfathomable whole." And magically he has bodied forth its late and desperate states.

PAUL ROSENFELD

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IN BRIEF

THE CONFESSIONS OF AN INDIVIDUALIST. By William Henry Chamberlin. The Macmillan Company. $3.

This autobiography by the author of "The Russian Revolution" is well named. Real, as distinguished from superficial, individualists are rarer among newspapermen than they would have us think, but Mr. Chamberlin actually is one. He has traveled widely and read deeply. His book is worth reading.

THE INVASION FROM MARS. A Study in the Psychology of Panic, with the Complete Script of the Famous Orson Welles Broadcast. By Hadley Cantril. With the Assistance of Hazel Gaudet and Herta Herzog. Princeton University Press. $2.50.

This unusual study of a remarkable phenomenon whose details are well known was carried out under the direction of a social psychologist connected with the Princeton Radio Project in an attempt to arrive at its "social significance." The conclusions reached are on the whole those of common sense.

SCIENCE FRONT, 1939. By F. Sherwood Taylor. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

Surveys of the advance of science reduced to the language and concepts of non-technical readers are appearing upon the market with increasing frequency. This one, by an English writer, is distinctly above the average in clarity and that ability to sustain interest which is a combination of style and content. Television, atomic structure, cancer research, the amazing substance helium II, the shock treatment of schizophrenia, and numerous other discoveries are included in the thirteen chapters.

JOHN GAY: FAVORITE OF THE WITS. By William Henry Irving. Duke University Press. $3.50.

Specialized but interesting, Mr. Irving's biography deals less with Gay himself —our picture of the "divine Bucoliast" being supplemented here but hardly changed—than with Gay's work and times. With his journalistic sense and fresh talent, Gay, secretary of Scriblerus and notable apostle of Walpole's jolly underworld, is of course a fine mirror of the early eighteenth century; and through a discriminating use of pamphlets, ballads, lampoons Mr. Irving presents the age. Here are Swift, Arbuthnot, Pope, Philips, these writers who in their uneasy personal alliance seem to emulate in little the larger history of their England; here are the South Sea bubble, the fossil-hunting which in a century would produce a Darwin, the political struggles conditioning literary taste, and above all the classic style, which gave its central unity to the work of Gay's era—that "poetic" diction, abstract, noble, and refined, in the polished couplets of which we may almost read the story of conflicting and brutal social forces. Concerning himself with the more purely literary aspects of Gay, Mr. Irving tends to ignore the implications of the other excellent source material he has gathered, thus limiting his study to the rather narrow confines of academic taste. But within its range his "Gay" is good.

RECORDS

THE Muggsy Spanier coupling of "Mandy, Make Up Your Mind" and "Lonesome Road" (Bluebird 10766) is outstanding among recent jazz records. Good performances by the Bob Crosby Orchestra, with Jess Stacy at the piano, are Stacy's own "Complainin' " (Decca 3233), of which he recorded a more spontaneous solo performance for Commodore, and Gershwin's "Embraceable You" (Decca 3271); and the smaller group of Crosby Bobcats are good in "Spain" (Decca 3248). Louis Armstrong's simpler and more sensitive trumpet style is heard in "Sweethearts on Parade" (Deca 3235); everyone but Hawkins himself plays well in the Coleman Hawkins All Star Octet's "Sheik of Araby" (Bluebird 10770); and the solo playing in the Kirby Orchestra's "One Alone" (Okeh 5605) remains enjoyable though the arranged passages by the entire group are too slick for my taste. Joe Bushkin's first solo record (Commodore 532) offers his sensitive piano style in "I Can't Get Started" and his own "Serenade in Thirds," but with over-ripe harmonies that he doesn't indulge in when he plays in bands; and I therefore prefer his work in the Muggsy Spanier performances. Fred Astaire is engaging in "Just Like Taking Candy From a Baby" (Columbia 35517) and gets good support from the Benny Goodman Sextet and Orchestra.

Columbia has issued an album, Chain Gang (C-22, $2.50), in which arrangements of Negro songs of the chain gang are sung by Joshua White and his Carolinians. There are people who, because of what they feel about the cruelties inflicted on Negroes in chain gangs, will be moved by these songs as they would not be if they heard the songs without the words or without any other knowledge of what they were about. Feeling as I do about these cruelties, I am affected by the sense of the songs as I would be by a report in *The Nation;* but not one of them is, as music, the breath-taking experience that the song "I Wonder As I Wander" was when I encountered it in the John Jacob Niles album last winter; and this was a song about "Jesus, our Saviour," with whom I have no emotions bound up at all. Apart from this, it would seem to me that the nature of these chain-gang songs would forbid their being dressed up in the arrangements in which they have been recorded in the Columbia album. But the singing and recording are excellent.

From Victor have come two albums (P-27 and P-28, each $2) of Woody Guthrie's Dust Bowl Ballads. In these the music is of little consequence, merely rattling along to carry the words —some grim, some sharp, some amusing—that express Guthrie's engaging personality.

Then from the Music Room, 133 West Forty-fourth Street, New York, there is the album, Six Songs for Democracy, with three ten-inch discs ($3) on which are rerecorded satisfactorily the songs recorded in Barcelona in 1938 by Ernst Busch and the chorus of the Eleventh International Brigade: Song of the International Brigades, The Thaelmann Battalion, Song of the United Front, "The Four Generals," "Hans Beimler," and the famous concentration-camp song, "Die Moorsoldaten." Here too what is moving is not the music but the ideas, and above all the associations: these are the actual voices of the men whose generosity of heart and soul was defeated by the fascist dictatorships and betrayed by the democracies. But some people will not be able to listen to the singing of these men—men who named their battalion after Thaelmann, men who were in Spain to fight the Hitlerism that had to be fought as the menace to freedom everywhere—without thinking of how they were further betrayed a year later by a pact of peace with Hitlerism, and of how from this it appeared that their generous emotions had been used for the ends of *Realpolitik.* And for myself these associations are too painful.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Democracy and Conscription

Dear Sirs: Freda Kirchwey's opinion that conscription is a first step toward "democratization" of the army (*Nation,* August 3) is based on a false conception of the operation of conscription and on disregard of its most direct effects. At the outset, the pending conscription measures do not, contrary to her assumption, involve "all elements of the population." Instead, those persons who are "unimportant" in civilian life are to be forced into the army. And the determination of "unimportance" is to repose in the practically unfettered discretion of the army and of local draft boards; it has been announced that they will in substance revive the Regulations of 1918, under which the unemployed and unskilled labor constituted the bulk of the first group of draftees.

Another feature of conscription, stressed as an advantage by the Chief of Staff, General Marshall, is that it will remove the necessity for increasing pay, instituting a more equitable system of promotions, or otherwise improving the lot of the enlisted man so as to induce the necessary number of men to serve voluntarily. According to General Marshall, "it [conscription] would produce a degree of solidarity among our people as to the army which would be of great advantage to the army." Moreover, "discipline" by the army of our whole population, or of as great a part of it as meets the physical and other requirements, seems to be considered our greatest national need; and discipline means accepting without question all aspects of the army regime.

Conscription of men rather than expanded voluntary service, at this time when facilities for the production of the sinews of war are left to the free disposition of their owners, means acceptance and dissemination of the view that the preservation of the liberty of the individual is of little importance compared to the preservation of property rights. At the same time that this view is gaining currency among the civilian population, the army will have the opportunity of inculcating its notoriously anti-democratic views directly in a large proportion of our young men.

The only way to "democratize" the army is to take the necessary steps for the expansion of our voluntary service. If we would preserve the democratic values and processes of civil life, we must keep our people free from the insidious psychological effects of conscription.

NANETTE DEMBITZ

Washington, August 21

"The War as Revolution"

Dear Sirs: Permit me to offer a few criticisms of Max Lerner's articles on The War as Revolution in *The Nation* for July 27 and following issues.

First, I think that he indulges in idealization of the neglected and befuddled masses. In Europe as in America they realize little of the inwardness of the catastrophes which they have suffered. From what I know of them I conclude that they are thinking in terms of no planned revolution. They are in a mood to be stampeded in any direction but only under the impulsion of their intensified hates and prejudices.

Unquestionably we should be ready to take realistic advantage of Stalin's fear of Hitler—and of Mussolini's too, for that matter—but we must guard ourselves against playing into their hands and suspect card-sharping, while we have to play with cards face up.

In the third place, Mr. Lerner never mentioned the ablest player at the table, a marvelously shrewd and experienced old lady named Roma Ecclesiastica. She flirts with both sides in the contest and is always looking out for number one; also she is known to have a lifelong dislike for democracy and is suspected of being willing to make any kind of an alliance in her own interests.

We wouldn't be so badly off were we frankly to recognize such situations and plan accordingly.

ERNEST M. WHITESMITH

Mitchellville, Iowa, August 24

America Must Gird Itself

Dear Sirs: The totalitarian menace is rising not because it is indefatigable but because those who should be able to ward it off quarrel among themselves. During the past weeks I have attended several meetings of liberal organizations, and I have been amazed by the attitude of the vast majority of those present. American democracy—so they said—is still far from perfect: labor unions are still fought and suppressed; the Anti-Trust Act is applied against them, contrary to its clear purpose; Negroes are widely discriminated against. Do those who complain of democracy's shortcomings realize what they are going to have if democracy is defeated? Have seven years of national socialism in Germany, eighteen years of fascism in Italy, twenty-three years of Russian bolshevism not taught America what totalitarianism means. The liberties of Americans may be attacked by reactionary forces, but there is always a way of getting redress: there are independent courts and—strongest of all—an active public spirit which eventually sets wrongs right, witness Louisiana. What if the independence of the courts were abolished, if the people's anger against corruption were curbed by concentration camps and secret police?

The United States is up against terrible odds. If Americans want to continue their way of life and perfect democracy in a natural, evolutionary way, they have got to muster all their strength, spiritual and physical, even if this means giving up temporarily the right to do as they please. Otherwise, they will lose that right forever.

HEINZ R. BERNHARDT

New York, August 28

Exception Taken

[The Consul General of Eire in New York has taken exception to a statement made by Vincent Sheean in his article Ireland: Back Door to Invasion in the issue of August 24. Sheean wrote: "All this and much more is abundantly known to the Germans, who maintain a large legation in Dublin and have friendly agents throughout the country with free code communication with Berlin." The Consul General denies this assertion and refers us to a special cable published in the New York *Times* on July 17, which said: "Reports from abroad that Germany might be maintaining an excessively large diplomatic staff in Ireland were met tonight with an authoritative statement that the personnel of the German legation in Dublin consisted of Minister Edward Hempel, a secretary, a press attaché, two clerks, and a maid. The Germans have also a consul in Limerick."—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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